

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----017090 081602Z /42
O 081546Z SEP 78
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6574

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 21551

NODIS

SALT

DEPT PLEASE PASS WHITE HOUSE AND DEFENSE

E.O. 11652: XGDS
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: SALT MEETING WITH GROMYKO 8 SEPT 78

1. IN 8 SEPTEMBER MEETING, GROMYKO REVIEWED ALL POINTS
IN U.S. PACKAGE PRESENTED YESTERDAY WITHOUT CHANGING
SUBSTANCE OF SOVIET POSITIONS AND OBJECTIONS. HE
CHARACTERIZED THE TALKS AS TO A CERTAIN EXTENT USEFUL AND
AS ALLOWING CLARIFICATION BUT STATED SOVIET INITIAL VIEW
THAT WE HAD NOT YET GIVEN AN ADEQUATE RESPONSE TO
GROMYKO'S JULY QUESTION.

2. ON SPECIFIC ISSUES:

A. NEW TYPES. GROMYKO REEMPHASIZED THAT SOVIET AGREE-
MENT TO U.S. PROPOSAL FOR ONE NEW ICBM TYPE, MIRVED OR
NOT, WAS PART OF A PACKAGE, WARNING AGAINST THINKING
WE HAD IT "IN OUR POCKET." HE STRESSED, HOWEVER, THAT
THEIR PROPOSAL WAS NOT A "TAKE IT OR LEAVE IT"

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PROPOSITION; THEY PROPOSED ONLY THAT THE OTHER ISSUES BE
SETTLED "ON THE BASIS" OF SOVIET PROPOSALS. THEY WERE
PREPARED TO DISCUSS THE REMAINING ISSUES.

B. CRUISE MISSILES. GROMYKO REPEATED FAMILIAR SOVIET
POSITIONS ON NEED FOR A LIMIT OF 20 ALCM'S PER HEAVY
BOMBER, NO CONVERSION OF TRANSPORT AFT TO CARRY

ALCM'S, NO DISTINCTION BETWEEN CONVENTIONALLY- AND NUCLEAR-ARMED CM'S ("NO EXTERNAL FEATURES CAN HELP"), AND CM RANGES. HE MADE NO DIRECT COMMENT ON OUR ALCM NUMBERS CAPABILITY STATEMENT.

C. BACKFIRE. GROMYKO SAID ISSUE CAN ONLY BE RESOLVED ON THE BASIS OF THE UNILATERAL STATEMENT THE SOVIETS MADE IN WASHINGTON.

D. TIMING ISSUES. GROMYKO REPEATED THE SOVIET CLAIM THAT COMPLETION OF REDUCTIONS BEFORE DEC. 30, 1981 WAS PHYSICALLY IMPOSSIBLE. AFTER REPEATING SOVIET PROTOCOL DURATION POSITION, HE SAID IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO DISCUSS A FIXED DATE FOR EXPIRATION OF PROTOCOL BEFORE THE SIDES KNEW WHEN THE AGREEMENT WOULD BE SIGNED, MUCH LESS WHEN IT WOULD COME INTO FORCE. THIS MAY HAVE BEEN A SIGNAL OF RECEPTIVITY TO EVENTUAL AGREEING TO EXPIRATION THREE YEARS FROM DATE OF SIGNATURE.

E. FRACTIONATION: GROMYKO SAID A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION COULD BE SOUGHT TO THE ISSUE, REPEATING USUAL LINKAGE TO LIMITING NUMBER OF ALCM'S PER BOMBER AND AGREEING ON NEW TYPES DEFINITION.

F. DEPRESSED SLBM TRAJECTORY: GROMYKO SAID IT WAS DIFFICULT TO RESPOND SUBSTANTIVELY WITHOUT A DETAILED SECRET

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U.S. PROPOSAL. DELEGATIONS COULD DISCUSS THE IDEA BUT HE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT RAISING A NEW ISSUE COULD DELAY REACHING AGREEMENT.

3. OVERALL, GROMYKO'S TONE WAS MODERATE. GROMYKO'S CENTRAL VIEW OF THE MEETINGS WAS CAREFULLY BALANCED: THE MEETINGS HAD BEEN "TO A CERTAIN EXTENT USEFUL" IN CLARIFYING POINTS, BUT THE SOVIET SIDE HAD TO SAY THAT THEY DID NOT FEEL THAT THE U.S. SIDE HAD ADEQUATELY RESPONDED TO THE SOVIET "QUESTION" POSED IN GENEVA IN JULY, AND THEY HOPED THIS WAS NOT OUR LAST WORD. GROMYKO HOPED FOR INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE U.S. DELEGATION IN GENEVA TO MOVE FASTER, AND HE BRIEFLY REPEATED HIS JULY COMPLAINTS THAT THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION DID NOT GIVE "SUFFICIENT REBUFF" TO DOMESTIC CRITICISMS OF SALT.

4. WARNKE RESPONDED BY STATING THAT WE HOPED GROMYKO'S COMMENTS WERE NOT THE LAST WORD ON THE U.S. PROPOSALS EITHER, AND BY REVIEWING THE ELEMENTS OF THE U.S. POSITION THAT MAKE IT IN OUR VIEW ADEQUATELY FORTHCOMING, AND A FAIR AND EQUITABLE BASIS FOR REACHING

AN AGREEMENT. HE DENIED THAT WE HAD RAISED THE
DEPRESSED SLBM TRAJECTORY IDEA WITH ANY VIEW TOWARD
SLOWING PROGRESS, BUT RATHER AS A USEFUL AND RELATIVELY
SIMPLE LIMIT IN THE INTERESTS OF BOTH SIDES. IF AFTER
WORKING ON THE DEPRESSED TRAJECTORY SLBM MATTER,
RAPID AGREEMENT PROVED DIFFICULT, THE SIDES COULD
REVIEW THE ISSUE OF TIMING. AS TO THE RATE OF PROGRESS
IN GENEVA, OUR DELEGATION WOULD HAVE INSTRUCTIONS TO
WORK WITH ALL DELIBERATE SPEED TOWARD AGREEMENT AND
WE WERE CONFIDENT THAT THE SOVIET DELEGATION WOULD
HAVE SIMILAR INSTRUCTIONS. BUT, WARNKE SAID, THE KEY

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TO FINAL RESOLUTION LAY IN THE TWO CAPITALS, NOT IN
GENEVA, AND, WARNKE HOPED, THE LATER MEETINGS IN
SEPTEMBER WOULD ALLOW US TO COMPLETE THE PROCESS.

5. IN A BRIEF PRIVATE SESSION, WARNKE GAVE GROMYKO
THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER FOR BREZHNEV. GROMYKO DID NOT
OPEN THE LETTER DURING THE MEETING AND MADE NO FURTHER
COMMENT ON SALT. GARRISON

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